1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

married couple has no children, they just want a child, be it a boy or a girl, and when they have a boy they want a girl. But if the parents have too many girls, they say they don't want any more girls because too many girls are no use. The difference is that people don't ever say too many boys are no use." These villagers hastily added, "People just say that girls are no use; they don't really mean it or do anything about it. They only adopt out girls [give their daughters for adoption] if their economic condition demands it." It is rare for a boy to be sold or adopted out, and if he is, it is because of direst economic necessity. Although most families do not like to give up a daughter, either, and tend to resist making such a commitment, one of several girl children is often given for adoption under much less urgent financial pressure. The figures for Hsin Hsing show that more girls than boys there are adopted or given for adoption.

Giving up a child for adoption is one way of alleviating economic difficulties perhaps aggravated by too large a family, but the villagers make no attempt to limit the number of children they have in order to forestall such a contingency. Some villagers realize that the tremendous increase in population discussed in Chapter 2 is the reason for the economic conditions which make it difficult to get land or a job, but they give little thought to birth control as a solution. As one informant put it, "Some people do think about birth control, but rural people still want many children. Even if a couple has ten children, if they have another they are still so happy. The villagers just like children. Mr. Shih, who is fifty years old, had another baby son and was so happy. He couldn't expect that boy to support him since he is already so old, but perhaps he feels this son will have many descendants to worship him and carry on the family."

While many village men are aware that there are ways of preventing conception, only a few are familiar with specific methods. Some of the men remember that the Japanese soldiers used condoms during sexual intercourse, but for the most part they thought this was basically a method of disease prevention rather than a contraceptive device. However, some of the younger men who have lived in Taipei and have had premarital or extramarital relations with prostitutes, have thus been informed that the condom can be used as a means of contraception. Even the villager who is aware of this use of the condom does not find them readily available, and when they are available, they are too expensive for regular use. In general, if a village man feels he has more children than the family can support, he abstains from sexual relations—at least with his wife. On rare occasions he may go for sexual satisfaction to girls in Lukang. Such men usually share a bed with some of their older sons, while the wife sleeps with the younger children.

guest of honor, a position which is lower than the place to the left of the guest of honor because it is on the right hand side of the table, but higher than the second seat on the left side of the table because it is closer to the altar. The same principles are applied to the assignment of the family sleeping quarters. As the person of highest status in the family, the head of the household takes as his bedroom the room to the immediate left of the kōng-thîⁿ:, while his younger brother or married son will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thîⁿ:. If the head of the household has both a younger brother and married sons, the younger brother will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thîⁿ:, the sons taking as their quarters a room at the end of the house or even a room in a wing of the house. The living arrangements of the various members of a household thus serve as a constant and not very subtle reminder of their relative status in the family hierarchy.

The kōng-thîⁿ: is what one might call the public area of the house. It is the portal through which the family carries on its relationships with the world outside of the house. When guests come they enter through the kōng-thîⁿ:, and they leave by way of the kōng-thîⁿ:. It is also by way of the kōng-thîⁿ: that a bride first enters her husband's family, and it is through the kōng-thîⁿ: that a deceased member of the family passes out of the family circle. The other side of a family's life, its private or domestic side as contrasted with its public side, is centered not in the kōng-thîⁿ:, but rather in the family kitchen. Typically located in one of the two end rooms of the house, the kitchen invariably contains a large red brick cooking stove, the symbol of the domestic

children may give away a recently born female child and adopt a sīm-pûà in her place, nursing her future daughter-in-law in place of her own daughter. Almost all sīm-pûà are adopted before the age of four, and the average for girls in Hsiachichou is somewhere between the ages of two and three. Although a sīm-pûà is a daughter-in-law in her foster family insofar as her marriage status is concerned, the relation between her and her future husband during their childhood is more like that of brother and sister. As children they address one another as brother and sister; they play and eat together just as do the other children of the family; and in most families they share the same sleeping platform with their parents until they are nine or ten years of age. At a later age when they have been made aware of their future relationship as husband and wife, they may choose to avoid one another to some extent, but this is not socially required of them. The individual attitudes of the villagers and the general mores of the community seem to agree that a sīm-pûà and her foster brother are brother and sister until they become husband and wife.

Although there are undoubtedly other factors which enter into the reactions of many villagers to the sīm-pûà form of marriage, our suggestion is that the rejection of this form of marriage is primarily the result of a sexual aversion arising out of their childhood association. It is possible that in growing up in a situation in which they are identified as "brother" and "sister," the couple comes to think of themselves as real siblings. They therefore find the thought of marriage "embarrassing" because it is generally taboo for any

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along which the bedrooms are located. Reflecting the principles of seniority found in the ancestral tablets, the members of the family are assigned sleeping rooms according to their status in the family. The head of the family takes the rooms to the right of the ancestors; his younger brother or married sons, the rooms to the left. An old grandmother usually shares a bed with her grandchildren, enjoying with the warmth of their young bodies the satisfaction that she has by her own efforts produced at least two more generations for the family. Some sleeping rooms in Peihotien are furnished with the traditional carved and canopied wooden beds, massive and often ugly; others contain only Japanese *tatami* sleeping platforms. The platforms have many advantages, particularly for families with numerous children, since their capacity is practically unlimited. They are also considerably cooler during the stifling summer nights when the old-fashioned, box-like beds become as hot as ovens.

The kitchen is usually located at one end of the rectangle, although some families house it in a shed at the back of the basic structure. Wherever it is, the central feature of the room is the large, square brick stove. Few families have the luxury of a room set aside for dining and are content to take their meals in one corner of the kitchen. If the room is too small, or if the family tends toward elegant living, they eat in the guest hall. Family meals are considerably less formal than Western meals. If the night is hot, a man fills his bowl with rice, tops it with whatever relish or vegetable his wife has provided, and then squats in the cool breeze of the doorway. His wife seldom sits at the table, eating her rice as best she can while supervising the children and watching the soup. The older children may follow their father's example and wander off into the yard, skillfully managing the rice bowl and chopsticks while watching a game of hopscotch. In large families this is the only way the meals can be managed, since it would be impossible for them all to sit down at once. The Chinese custom of feeding the men first is acknowledged but difficult to practice when the men's hours are determined by different occupations. More commonly the food is simply put on the table and whoever is there eats—at the table, if he likes, or on the back stoop, if he prefers.

When a man builds a house, his fondest dream is that within his lifetime one or even both of the wings will be added to the original rectangle to house his sons and married grandsons. In the ideal Taiwanese family several generations of fathers and sons live with

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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man is expected to provide his ancestors with the best he can possibly manage. The Lim altar is tastefully simple, but of excellent wood and careful carving. The top is cluttered with the usual collection of ugly vases, gaudy lanterns, fussy brass candle holders, an elaborately carved wooden stand to hold the half-moon-shaped divining blocks, and some delicate pewter wine cups used only to offer drink to the gods and ancestors. Besides the ancestral tablets, the altar also holds two glass boxes containing images of the Goddess of Mercy and Tu Ti Kung. The latter are only decoration. Although they have vague protective powers, they are not imbued with the significance of the images residing in temples. On the wall behind the altar are a picture of the Eight Immortals and a large panel covered with the character for long life repeated in its hundred different forms. The only other decorations in the room are a Chinese painting on a scroll and various inscriptions painted or pasted over doors and windows to insure the family's good health, prosperity, and fertility.

When my husband and I moved into the Lim family home, we were delighted to be given as our sleeping room the tiny room directly in back of the family altar. The room is separated from the guest hall by only half a wall topped by a lattice screen. There was little chance of our sleeping through any of the religious ceremonies performed at dawn or during the night. Much to my surprise, the sleeping room that should have housed the head of the family became our office. It had been empty since the death of Lim Chieng-cua's father. Later, when I came to understand the structure and tensions of the family, I was impressed by Lim Chieng-cua's discretion, and the diplomacy with which he had solved a vexing problem. At the time, I was simply pleased at the ease with which we had inserted ourselves into the very center of a Taiwanese family. We had little peace and quiet, and no privacy, but for our purposes the situation was ideal.

The remainder of the Lim's front wing is taken up with sleeping rooms—Lim Chieng-cua and his wife and six children on one side, his elder brother's widow, Lim A-pou, her married son and his family on the other. At one end, in a room that would have been the kitchen in a smaller house, is the dining room, one of the few in the village. Its elegance is confined to its title. Though fairly large, the room is cluttered with crocks of pickled vegetables, the big rice bin, a foot-treadle sewing machine, and odds and ends of farm equipment. In the center of the room is a high, round eating table with an assortment of tall stools around it. The stools are drawn from those stacked in the

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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simply another well-wisher. Needless to say, his wife did not accept his visit as a casual courtesy. Before long she too turned up at Lau Kim-chiok's party in search of her husband. He ordered her to leave and she did, but when he returned home hard words were exchanged.

My interpreter heard Chui-ieng crying in our kitchen and while trying to calm her, listened to her expressions of misery. "That stinking prostitute is home. She never lets my family live in peace. He [Lim Chieng-cua] went to see her the minute he heard she was back. He couldn't even wait for one night. That Hakka woman! [Lau Kim-chiok may have been adopted from Hakka parents, but the Taiwanese often use this as an insulting curse, the assumption being that Hakka are bad-hearted and generally low in morality]. She is most able to tempt people. She is full of sweet talk and honey. And he always listens to her temptings! The mosquito net was already set up when I got there and I'm sure he was about to get in bed with her. He hits me because of her and that is what has made me so sickly. I wasn't that way before.

"You don't know how fierce that prostitute is. How thick the skin on her face is! [i.e., you can't insult her.] Even worse, the family in the next lane are her allies. Before she went to jail, if my husband spent an evening at home, that prostitute would send them to come and call him out. Then five or six of them would go to see a play or eat and drink and my husband would pay for it all. This is a good chance for them now that she is back. They will be sure to come calling him out now just like before."

Lim A-pou made little effort to hide her amusement at her sister-in-law's predicament and at her behavior. "That woman's heart is too narrow. She should wait for awhile and see if they go back together again. Then she can go cause trouble if she wants to. Yesterday was her first day back and lots of people went to see her. Why doesn't Chui-ieng think before she runs out scolding. No wonder everybody knows all about it. I was already asleep last night so I didn't know anything about their fight, but early this morning it was all over the village. A long time ago I said that as soon as Lau Kim-chiok came back we'd have a good play to see. It was true. And on the first day!"

During the next few days I noticed some very peculiar behavior on the part of Lim Chieng-cua's older children. Uusally they were out of the house most of the day, coming in for meals or snacks or to pick up a ball. Now they seemed to be in and out of the house constantly,

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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bastards" better than his own children. This was too much. Lim Chieng-cua struck his wife a heavy blow across the mouth. She ran into the courtyard but he followed her, grabbing a heavy scaling pole as he went. Fortunately, A-bok was moving sacks of rice in the yard and pinned his uncle's arms before he could strike her. Instead of leaving, Chui-ieng turned back to attack her tightly-held husband. A-bok had to call Masa to pull Chui-ieng away. She then ran out of the house. The uproar brought the whole family out of the house, and the children were whimpering with fear. Lim Chieng-cua turned from his nephews without a word and disappeared into his bedroom. A-bok's young son, more curious than frightened, demanded of his father in a loud, clear voice, "Why were you fighting with Uncle?" Although his father insisted gruffly and repeatedly that they had not been fighting, his mother, characteristically, began to giggle. A-bok shouted at her to get back to work, and the others returned to the house. Tan Chun-ieng was home that evening and it was she who took over the care of Lim Chui-ieng's children, seeing to their baths and getting them into bed. Lim A-pou and her daughter-in-law, the latter probably under strict orders since basically she is a kind girl, completely ignored the frightened and tearful children. The youngest wandered around the house pathetically asking anyone who would listen, "Was Momma getting a spanking? Have you seen my Momma?" It was not the feared father who had abandoned them, but their beloved mother. Long after the house was usually quiet, I heard sobs coming from the children's sleeping room.

Lim Chui-ieng went to the only refuge she had in the village, the home of Ng Kui-lian, the go-between for her marriage. There she borrowed enough money to get her to relatives and left the village at once. A little over an hour after the quarrel, I heard the clump, clump of old Ng Kui-lian's cane aggressively announcing her progress through the house. Her status as the original go-between gave her the right and indeed the obligation to act as peace-maker in the present crisis. Her status as an old lady gave her the right to speak her mind to both parties. After soundly scolding Lim Chieng-cua for interrupting her late afternoon nap, she demanded full details of the quarrel. He spoke frankly and her comments were equally frank. They talked for the better part of an hour before the old woman was satisfied that both had been, as she suspected all along, in the wrong. With that she left, intending to put things back together the following day.

Much to my surprise, Lim Chui-ieng returned to the house the

291 177 The most common clothing for men is Western cotton wash trousers and a shirt or T-shirt. In warm weather, trousers are usually short. In colder weather, more layers are worn, trousers on trousers and shirts on shirts, [292] to be topped with a sweater or jacket. A man probably owns one dress-up suit which is saved for special occasions and worn with a shirt and tie. The suit lasts for years and was probably acquired for his wedding. Since the jackets last longer than trousers, replacement of the trousers results in unmatched dress-up outfits for older men. Underpants are often very colorful, much like the old flour-sack[8] material in the United States. Undershirts, when worn, are either T-shirts or the jockey [513] type. Pajamas, two piece, are usually worn to bed and also, in the evening after dinner in the leisure period before going to bed. Most of the time, in warm weather, men go barefoot or wear wooden clogs. The Japanese-style clog with the very thick soles are only for leisure in the evening. Occasionally, men wear a high boot with the big toe separated much like a mitten for work in the field. With these boots which were copied from the Japanese, the trousers are bloused. A pair of leather shoes is purchased for a wedding but rarely worn thereafter. A few old men wear a Chinese jacket but old-style Chinese trousers were not observed. Some men wear modern raincoats but most older men prefer the old-fashioned rush mat coat.

291 traditional high-necked slit-side dress) of dark coarse
561 material for work. Younger women do have chi pao of fine
[292] material which they wear for important affairs. However,
in the recent period, a chi pao is usually first acquired
[177] for an engagement or wedding. Younger girls usually wear
293 Western-style outfits for trips to town. Women usually
carry umbrellas to protect against rain and sun alike.
291 At night, women too wear pajamas but less often than men
[513] wear them out on the street in the evening. Footwear is
177 not unlike that for men except that young women more of-
[562] ten wear Western-style cheap shoes. Women also are more
likely to wear traditional cloth slippers in the home.

302 Special identifying haircuts are required of stu-
305 dents. Men go to the barber about once every two weeks
and usually have a shampoo and a shave as well as a hair-
cut. Women in Sanlei very seldom go to a beauty shop al-
though there is a beautician in the Erhlei barber shop.
302 Young women wear makeup now for trips to town although
teased by villagers, "You look like a prostititue" (see
593 Glossary C). Parents attempt to control their daughter's
dress and behavior but do not have much success. The
girls are now earning money and are economic assets. If
they are treated too harshly, they can easily move to the
city or to a factory dormitory.

296 Clothing in the village is worn until it falls
apart. There are many patches and even patches on patches.

207 1,402,000 in 1967 (1969:782) and television sets, from
511 16,000 in 1963 to 164,000 in 1967 (1969:784). Figures for Sanlei indicate the village has shared this growth pattern. The number of radios increased from less than a dozen in 1953 to 41 in 1966. Two out of every three households now have a radio and since radios are played loudly, the village is rarely silent during the day or evening. Two television sets were installed in 1965. The one at the village store faces the street so that a group of villagers can watch the programs.

40 Other items may also indicate both the level of
412 prosperity and the kind of economic activities. Among the
493 409 people (66 households) there are 5 motorcycles, 69
511 bicycles, 30 sewing machines, 35 clocks, 37 electric fans, and 15 electric rice steamers. Farming equipment includes 9 threshing machines, 18 plows, 7 winnowers, 39 insecticide sprayers, 8 hand harrows, 7 foot harrows, and 161 hoes. Since almost everyone is a part-time farmer, there are only about five households in the village without a hoe although a hoe is the only piece of farm equipment
426 owned in several households. Borrowing tools from relatives, friends, and sworn brothers is a regular custom.

511 Every household appears overcrowded with furniture,
352 tables, benches, chairs, cabinets, etc. Beds usually con-
• 513 sist of a straw mat or a tatami (hard thin straw mattress) on a wooden platform. Some beds are quite large; occasionally, a single bed may exceed 8' by 10'.

000

861 a resident is rarely alone. Children are always watched but their training is very relaxed and primarily by guidance and example. Only three times did I observe children being beaten although handslapping is frequent and threats are often used. The most common threat is to give the child
855 away for adoption. Children receive lots of affection and
861 considerable fondling. Life is such that few children are really raised in a semi-isolated nuclear family for if their homes do not already contain more than parents and siblings, there are either more distant relatives or good neighbors nearby. Everyone takes some responsibility for raising each other's children although harsh punishment is only adminis-
[604] tered by a member of the immediate family. Being harsh with a nephew led to one serious argument observed in an extended
[868] family. Children are not often held responsible for what they do and everyone claims they just do not know better.
863 For example, enuresis which occasionally continues into the
[513] early teens presents a real problem for the parents who normally sleep in the same bed with their children.[2] Yet, the wetting child is rarely struck. Instead, his liquids are curtailed in the evening before bedtime and his parents say he will grow out of it.

853 Solid food is slowly added to the diet at about three to four months of age commencing first with the thickened water used to boil rice. Weaning is gradual and so late that rarely are problems encountered.

855
857 and it often appeared that some children were nearly as big
482 as the children carrying them. Grandparents were extremely
603 indulgent towards grandchildren. The only adult males ever observed sitting on the ground playing games with small
593 children were their grandfathers. Brothers rarely remain intimate for the role of younger brother toward older brother is patterned after that of son to father but not as extreme in formality and authority. Sisters do remain relatively intimate and the brother-sister relationship is var-
604 iable but usually warm. A woman's brother will often have special relationships with her children and exercises special duties for such events as their weddings, births, and funerals.

857 Children may gather grass for animals and run errands. Boys help father and girls, mother but their duties and responsibilities are light. Other than caring for siblings, most time is for play although there are no organized games except a form of tag ball learned in school.

613 The sleeping arrangements in the village furnish a
855 clue to attitudes toward children. As previously described,
352 the typical bed is about 8' by 10'. A husband and wife nor-
[illegible] mally sleep together in the middle. A nursing child is placed next to mother until weaned when boys are placed on father's side and girls, on mother's, in ascending age order, the oldest on the outside. It is felt that children should share the bed with parents until around age 9 or 10 because children have bad dreams and someone should be close to

513 comfort them.

855 When a child leaves his parent's bed, he does not sleep alone. There is a separation of sexes at this age so that a household has male beds and female beds and if there is no older adult such as an aunt or grandparent to join, two siblings of the same sex will be transferred to-
513 gether. The bed will be shared until marriage when the newlyweds start off just by themselves for one bed never contains more than one couple enjoying a sexual relationship. The married couple may sleep together the rest of their lives although some old people separate after intercourse ceases.

Education

871 Primary school is compulsory for six years to the degree that there were only three village children who were not attending school at the time of the study. The five villages in the li share the school located in Erhlei except that the Mainlanders in Wulei send their children to Hsin Tien. There are 423 students in the school, 204 boys and 219 girls.

895 The school has 12 teachers, a principal, and a janitor. The principal, a Mainland woman, and the assistant
[568] principal, also a Mainlander, share a house in Erhlei which is owned by the school. One teacher lives with his family in a rented Erhlei house but all the other teachers, most of them Mainlanders, live in Pouti or Hsin Tien. Six of the